"According to the primitive view prevailing among most South Ameri-[252] can tribes newborn infants are the exclusive property of their parents, who therefore have the right to kill them if they choose. Thus infanticide exists both among the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians, although it is restricted to the more or less exceptional cases I have mentioned before. The former frequently put the child to death when the woman has become pregnant by a man belonging to a strange tribe; but above all monsters and deformed children are made away with directly after birth, i. e. children which among the Jibaros pass under the name of pasúna. We have seen that such children are often believed to be born as the result of unlawful marriages and that they are ascribed to mysterious demoniacal influence. In these cases consequently infanticide is due, not to the lack of parental feeling, but to pure superstition. Such a child, according to their opinion, is in fact not a human being at all, but a demon whose appearance in the tribe is regarded as extremely unlucky. The birth of a pasúna is one of the cases where not only the individual family but the whole sub-tribe is concerned; epidemics and general misfortune may be the consequence of it. Among the Canelos Indians it is the same with twins, of which, as I have stated, the second is always killed as being a supai huahua, 'the son of a demon'.

That infanticide is not due to the lack of parental feeling is evident. Even the savage Jibaro father is very fond of his children and takes care of them in every possible way.

subjecting himself even to considerable privations for a long time for the sake of a newborn son. The customs practiced in connection with the birth of a child at Canelos show that these Indians also constantly have the welfare of their young children in view."

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

man, two wives, and seven children; or a man, one wife, and three children. Often another relative, such as the widowed mother or an unmarried brother of the head of the household, also resides in the dwelling. Upon marriage of a daughter, the house's population is augmented by the son-in-law (*awe*), who will tend to remain until the birth of his wife's first child. Thereafter, according to the norm, the son-in-law and his family dwell in a new house nearby.

Sometimes matrilocal residence is avoided altogether when the suitor substitutes the gift of a shotgun to his father-in-law, instead of performing the more common bride-service. This substitution of bride-price for bride-service tends to occur in cases where the suitor feels that a period of matrilocal residence would be a liability, rather than an asset to him, e.g., when his bride's family lives in a neighborhood containing a number of enemies of the suitor's family or when he is already married and must take his bride home with him.

The man is formally head of the household and also informally seems generally to dominate his family. He is responsible for protecting his wife (wives) and children, for hunting and fishing, for clearing the forest for garden plots, and for cutting and bringing in fire logs. He also does some very limited garden chores and weaves the family's homemade garments. His wife (wives) is responsible for the overwhelming majority of the agricultural tasks, as well as for cooking and beer preparation, pottery making, and tending the children, chickens, and pigs, if any. When a son-in-law is resident in the household or living nearby, he helps his father-in-law at his various tasks, and also contributes game and firewood to his father-in-law's household. The son-in-law's wife also often helps her mother, even when resident in another neighboring house. A man and his son(s)-in-law

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9

178 241 476 592

ual garden plots tend to be smaller than those resulting from a large sustained effort by a group of neighbors.

178 461 517 439 [592] [512] [412] [286] [291] [281] [224]

Within the household, the basic aspects of life seem little changed except with regard to the amount of time men spend in land clearing and weaving. In recent decades, the time spent on these activities has been reduced, respectively, by the adoption of steel cutting tools and the acquisition of Western and Achuara cloth and articles of dress through trading partnerships. A man instead spends a larger percentage of his time simply relaxing in the house, going hunting to obtain skins for trade, and visiting other households.

178 591 [851] [578] [583] [411]

The period of temporary matrilocal residence has become shortened in recent decades so that it now usually ends soon after the birth of the first child. Formerly, the couple commonly remained in the wife's parents' house until after the birth of the second or third child. The factors behind this change are not clear except that some informants said that in-laws were not getting along as well as they used to do in the old days. The occasional practice of avoiding temporary matrilocal residence and bride-service, by giving the bride's father a shotgun, is reportedly a recent development.

178 411 [721]

The introduction of firearms, starting slowly at about the turn of the century, constituted a major technological change in Jivaro culture comparable in importance to the adoption of steel cutting tools. At that time, during the height of the Amazon rubber boom, a few Winchester .44 caliber carbines were acquired by the interior Jivaro from the Achuara, the firearms being captured during head-taking raids. The acquisition of great numbers of firearms by the interior Jivaro, however, is a development of only the last three decades. The [439] new firearms, which are muzzle-loading shotguns of Spanish manufacture, and possessed by virtually every adult male, have been acquired along with gunpowder and shot by trade